

THE GREAT SURRENDER

TO THE REBELS IN ARMS.

THE ARMISTICE.

"Immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities."—Peace and Disunion Platform of the Chicago Copperhead Convention.

For more than three years our beloved country has been engaged in a bloody and desolating war to restore the Union and uphold and maintain our Constitution. This war, the most causeless and wanton that history has ever recorded, was commenced by bold, bad, and ambitious men to throw off the salutary restraints of a good Government, and establish a republic which should have for its corner-stone the institution of human bondage. A few base and infamous men in the North have sometimes undertaken the ignoble task of excusing the traitors who have taken up arms against the Government by attempting to show that the rights of the slaveholding States had been invaded. There can be no better answer to these men who have been so swift to apologize for rebels, than that made by the Hon. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, (now the Vice President of the bogus Confederacy,) in the Convention in Georgia, in 1861, which passed the secession ordinance. The candid reader is requested to carefully peruse what Mr. Stephens says, and see how completely he answers the miserable lickspittles and Southern sympathizers in the North, who palliate and excuse the great crime of secession. Mr. Stephens said:

This step (Secession) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baneful consequences that must follow must rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth; when our green fields of waving harvests shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and the fiery car of war sweeping over our land, our temples of justice laid in ashes, all the horrors and desolations of war upon us, who but this convention will be held responsible for it, and who but he that shall give his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure shall be held to strict account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and probably cursed and execrated by posterity in all coming time, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate?

Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments, what reasons you can give to your fellow sufferers in the calamity that it will bring. What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and to what cause, or one overt act, can you point on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied, or what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can any of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely

done by the Government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer.

On the other hand, let me show the facts of which I wish you to judge; I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country. When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked for a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened in the fugitive slave law of 1850? When we asked that more territory should be added that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands, in giving Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States might have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolitic act, do not destroy this hope, and by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were, or by the vindictive decree of universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

But what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the General Government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet if we remain in it, and are united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North. Although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free States, yet a majority of the court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner, we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (pro tem.) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three and they twelve. While the majority of Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country.

Nor have we had less control in every other department of the General Government. Of Attorney Generals we have had fourteen, while the North has had but five. Of foreign Ministers we have had eighty-six, and they had but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the free States, from their greater commercial interest, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world's markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher officers of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the Executive departments. The record shows for the last fifty years, that of the three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic. Again, look at another item, in which we have a great and vital interest, that of revenue, or means of supporting Government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of Government, has uniformly been raised from the North.

Pause now, while you can, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Leaving out of view for the present the countless millions of dollars you must expend in war with the North, with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what? Is it for the overthrow of the American Government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice, and humanity? And as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, unassailed, is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness.

No language can measure the awful consequences that have followed, since the rebels made war upon our Government, by firing on our flag at Fort Sum-

ter. It will be left for the weeping voice of history to record how much blood has been shed, how many precious lives have been sacrificed, how great have been the mourning and anguish throughout all the land, what oceans of treasure have been expended to put down this rebellion, and restore the Union and Constitution of our fathers. But this same history will record on its brightest page, and in letters of living light, the achievements and the glories of our countrymen in arms. Posterity to the latest ages, will read with gratitude and pride of the "battles fought and victories won" by the noble men who have gone out from among us, to sustain our Government and vindicate the honor of our insulted flag. The magnificent fighting that has been done by our troops, illustrating on so many fields their heroism and their valor, the splendid record of what they have accomplished in their great work, shall stand out as the marvel of all coming time. To-day, the power of the rebellion reels and totters to its final and complete overthrow. The old sea-dog, FARRAGUT, whose naval achievements are without parallel in the history of naval warfare, has, by unheard of skill and gallantry, captured all the approaches to Mobile harbor, taking Forts Gaines and Morgan (the two strongest forts on this continent) with their garrison and armament, and sealing up that port against British blockade runners. The invincible and heroic SHERMAN, advancing over half an empire, fighting a succession of victorious battles and challenging the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen, with his battle-seared and war-worn veterans, has pierced the very heart of rebeldom in the Southwest. Atlanta, the very key-stone of the rebel arch of the best half of their bogus Confederacy, falls before his marvelous skill and the unrelenting energy of his unconquerable legions. GRANT, the "Hero of the Mississippi," whose unequalled achievement in the capture of Vicksburg, opened the "Father of Waters" so that the commerce of the north-west now floats "unvexed to the sea." He fought a battle above the clouds at Chattanooga, snatching victory from the jaws of defeat, and opened the gateway to Georgia. Taking command of the Army of the Potomac, with unparalleled audacity and courage, he attacks Lee with his chosen army in his works on the Rapid Ann, and by a series of the most bloody battles ever fought, drives the rebel chieftain through sixty miles of his intrenchments to the defences of Richmond. There, by a masterly maneuver, he plants himself on the south side of James river, obtains and holds possession of the Weldon railroad, the great artery into the capital of the rebel government. He has fixed his bull-dog grasp on the very throat of the rebellion, and that grasp will never be relaxed until the success of a disloyal party shall demand it, or until the American flag shall float in triumph and glory from the dome of the rebel capitol.

Who cannot see that the rebellion is at its last gasp. A great part of the rebellious territory has been recovered. The "Star Spangled Banner" now floats in every State of the Union. There are now only two or three States where the rebel power pretends to maintain itself even partially intact.

Lieutenant General GRANT, in the following letter written to a friend, gives his ideas of the present military and political situation. Such words coming from that great chieftain, who knows and judges so well, should sink deep into every loyal heart:

WASHINGTON, September 8, 1864.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, }
CITY POINT, Virginia, August 16, 1864. }

Hon. E. B. WASHBURN:

DEAR SIR: I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a *determined unity of sentiment in the North*. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroads and bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched

positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. *They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force.* Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertion and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is not far distant, *if we will only be true to ourselves.* Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter revolution. They hope the election of the peace candidate; in fact, like Micawber, they hope for "something to turn up." *Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South, because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have peace on any terms, the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave hunters for the South. They would demand pay, or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.* Yours, truly, U. S. GRANT.

The view expressed by Gen. Grant in his letter in relation to what the rebels expect from the Presidential election is sustained by the best rebel authority. Senator Semmes, of Mississippi, delivered a speech at Jackson, Miss., on the 15th ult., in which he said:

Our hopes for an early peace were dependant entirely on the success of the Democratic party at the North in the approaching Presidential election. The whole population of the North, the rich as well as the poor, were now called to face the war with all its horrors; and he believed that they would not submit to the draft ordered for the 5th of September next; that they would resist by force of arms first; that the Peace party would continue to grow and be successful in the approaching canvass.

The honorable rebel gentleman gave his views of military affairs as follows:

He said he did not desire to excite any undue expectations or alarm, *that everything depended upon Sherman being routed from Atlanta. That Richmond was safe, and Atlanta would be the great battle-field of this war.* Everything indicated that the enemy were concentrating all their available forces there; *our Government was doing the same. Mississippi would have to take care of herself for the present, for the fall of Atlanta would establish a trans-Chattahoochee department, cut us off from Richmond, and entail upon us the same difficulties which now existed with regard to the trans-Mississippi department; it would enable Lincoln to enforce his draft upon the 5th of September next, secure the re-election of that black-hearted monster, and prolong the war to an indefinite period of time.*

Such is the condition of things. After the most terrific military struggle the world has ever seen, the war approaches its triumphant termination with a restored Union, with the Constitution vindicated, and with a strength and a power and a glory that makes us the first nation on the globe. But we now have to contemplate an appalling fact. A great party in the North, prostituting the name of "Democracy" to its base and disloyal purposes, and acting in sympathy and in concert with traitors in arms, have recently held a Convention at Chicago, which was in open sympathy with the rebels. The *New York Herald*, a paper that is independent of all parties, in speaking of this Convention, utters the following important truths:

We have not the slightest doubt that there is a mutual understanding between the Seymours, the Woods, Vallandigham, and the rebels. This understanding is shown in the secession platform adopted by the Chicago Convention, and in the nomination of Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio—who is a practical secessionist—for Vice-President. We have now driven the rebels completely to the wall. General Grant has the best of them at Richmond, and General Sherman has succeeded in capturing Atlanta. This is not the time, then, that any reasonable man would be talking about "an immediate cessation of hostilities." We are in favor of an armistice, like that between Prussia and Denmark, where both sides hold their ground, and are ready to begin the conflict at any moment. But there is a vast deal of difference between such an armistice and the "immediate cessation of hostilities" which the Chicago platform requires. Nothing can explain such a platform,

except the hypothesis that it was dictated by Jeff. Davis to the Peace Democrats, and that these peace men foisted it upon the Chicago Convention, as the price of their endorsement of General McClellan's nomination.

This Convention made a declaration of the principles which should govern the party in case of its advent to power. Such a declaration of principles is more familiarly called a "platform." The architect of that platform was Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, who, a little more than one year ago, was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to transportation beyond our lines, for his notorious and admitted disloyalty to our Government. This platform was adopted by the Convention with only four dissenting votes. It is a platform of PEACE AND DISUNION, and must forever remain a monument of infamy to the party that adopted it. It is not only an unpardonable insult to the country, and a foul libel upon our soldiers and sailors, in declaring that we have failed in the experiment of war, but in its atrocious demand for a "cessation of hostilities," it virtually demands that our armies shall ground their arms—that the veterans who have borne the victorious eagles of Grant and Sherman in a hundred battles, shall surrender as prisoners of war. It means the recognition of the rebel Confederacy. It means that Farragut shall withdraw his fleet from Mobile harbor, and Dahlgren his iron-clads from Charleston, that our blockading squadrons shall everywhere abandon the blockade, and let the rebels send out all their cotton to replenish their exhausted treasury. It means that our navy shall be left to rot at our wharves, and that rebel pirates may roam unmolested over the ocean destroying our commerce, which so lately dotted over all the seas with whiteness.

THE ARMISTICE.

"A cessation of hostilities" in the language of the Copperhead platform of peace and disunion, is what is technically called by all military authorities, "*an armistice*," and it is well to consider what an armistice is. *It is a complete suspension of all military and naval power as between belligerents.* Before the first step could be taken for this "cessation of hostilities" demanded by the Copperhead platform, it would be necessary to acknowledge the rebel government, and that would be but a preparatory step towards treating with it as if enjoying all the powers of an independent sovereignty. With such a step once taken, it would be the merest infatuation to suppose that the government thus recognized would *deny itself*, either in a preliminary convention, or a subsequent treaty. "An armistice," such as the Copperheads demand, must be between two nations, because it is the mutual acknowledgment of two independent powers. It points to nothing less than an abandonment of the war by the Government of the United States, with a corresponding acknowledgment of the complete success of the rebellion. It is thus shown beyond all cavil what the Copperhead convention meant when it demanded this "cessation of hostilities." It meant the recognition of the so-called "Confederate States of America," as an independent sovereign power; and it therefore meant DISUNION, to be followed by consequences so terrible as to appal the stoutest heart in contemplating them. This view as to what the Copperhead convention meant by this demand for an armistice, is made clear by their nomination of an open disunionist as their candidate for Vice President, George H. Pendleton. This man boldly stood up in the House of Representatives on the 18th day of January, 1861, and proclaimed as follows:

My voice to-day is for conciliation; my voice is for compromise, and it is but the echo of the voice of my constituents. I beg you, gentlemen, who with me represent the Northwest; you who, with me, represent the State of Ohio; you who, with me, represent the city of Cincinnati, I beg you, gentlemen, to bear that voice. If you will not; if you

find conciliation impossible; if your differences are so great that you cannot or will not reconcile them, then, GENTLEMEN, LET THE SECEDING STATES DEPART IN PEACE; LET THEM ESTABLISH THEIR GOVERNMENT AND EMPIRE, AND WORK OUT THEIR DESTINY ACCORDING TO THE WISDOM WHICH GOD HAS GIVEN THEM.

Further along in the same speech he says:

If these Southern States cannot be reconciled, and if you, gentlemen, cannot find it in your hearts to grant their demands; if they must leave the family mansion, I would signalize their departure by tokens of love; I would bid them farewell so tenderly that they would forever be touched by the recollection of it; and if in the vicissitudes of their separate existence, they should desire to come together again in our common Government, there should be no pride to be humiliated, there should be no wound inflicted from any hand to be healed. They should come and be welcome to the place they now occupy.

Further extracts from Pendleton's speeches of a like character might be adduced, but it is unnecessary, for his whole record in Congress proves his intense hostility to our Government and his sympathy with the traitors in arms.

The Chicago Copperhead Convention which nominated McClellan and the above-named Pendleton upon their platform of peace and disunion, was controlled by the most notoriously disloyal men in the country; men who have never failed to express their sympathy for the rebels and their hatred for the good old constitutional Government of our fathers. The following extracts from speeches made there prove the base purposes of the Copperhead leaders to betray the country into the hands of the blood-stained and barbarous foe.

Hon. W. A. Richardson, the Copperhead United States Senator from Illinois, spoke as follows, as reported in the Chicago rebel organ, the *Times*:

To re-elect Mr. Lincoln is to accept four years more of war, four years more of trouble, of disaster, of woe, of lamentations, of ruin to the country. [Applause.] To defeat Mr. Lincoln, to accept the nominee of the Chicago Convention, [cheers,] is to bring peace and harmony and concord and union to these States [Loud applause.]

But these Republicans say they would be very much disgraced if they were to propose terms of settlement with rebels with arms in their hands. **These people with arms in their hands are the very people I want to settle with. I am not afraid of a man if he has no arms.**

Mr. Stambaugh, a delegate from Ohio, said:

That if he was called upon to elect between the freedom of the nigger and disunion and separation, **he should choose the latter.** [Cheers.] Bayonets and cannon, and above all, negro emancipation, cannot conquer a permanent peace. His plan for the solution of these difficulties, was an armistice, and an arrangement for a joint Convention, in which to talk over and arrange all family grievances. He was certain that in Ohio the entire community were in favor of peace.

The notorious Captain Rynders, of New York city, spoke as follows:

After three years of despotism he stood before them a free man—before a free people. With reference to the remark which he had referred to, he would now speak after the digression he had just made. It was a remark he did not approve of. He had heard one of the speakers state that the people of the South were traitors, which were harsh words, as the people of the South were as brave and chivalrous a people as were ever put on this earth. [Cheers.] He had regretted that they took the step they did for the settlement of their grievances, for they had great grievances. He was sorry they took these steps, and his advice was to stay in the Democratic party, and they would right their grievances. They, however, seemed to think differently, and he was sorry for it. Never had one word come from his lips against them, and he hoped his lips would be sealed when he did injustice to a brave, noble, and chivalrous people. [Applause.]

Hon. Mr. Curtis, of New York, said:

I trust the day will never come when the scenes witnessed in the Commonwealth of Kentucky—a State rendered glorious by the associations of the past—will be enacted on this soil; when the Administration will endeavor by force of arms to interfere with the

free sentiment and free will of the people. But, if that day should come, before God and in sight of Heaven, I would invoke the aid of counter revolution. [Loud cheering.] A people who would submit to that degree of outrage and tyranny which destroys the charter of their liberties—(to wit, to be required to swear allegiance to the United States before voting in a State claimed to belong to the confederacy)—are not fitted to live and stand up as men, but should lie down and die as slaves. [Cheers, and cries of 'good.'] I warn the Government now in power not to trample too far upon the liberties which are left to us; for if they do, they will be swept before a storm as a ship is swept from the sea in a storm. [Cheers.]

John Fuller, of Michigan, characterized the war for the Union as—

This unholy, cruel, and abominable struggle. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, are you willing longer to submit to this state of things? [Cries of "No."] Our land is already wet with fraternal blood. Our press has been shackled, the liberty of speech has been suppressed, the writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended, and he who dared to raise his voice against these arbitrary and unconstitutional acts has been arrested by the minions of the Government, and incarcerated in dungeons or banished from his native land. [Cheers.] Are you willing, I again ask, to bear these hardships and to submit to this tyranny and oppression? [Renewed cries of "No, no!"] Are you willing to follow in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln, the perjured wretch who has violated the oath he took before high Heaven to support the Constitution and preserve the liberties of the people? [Cheers.]

Mr. G. C. Sanderson said the Union must not be restored by war.

Fellow-citizens, what say you? Is it not time that this infernal war should stop? [Voices, "Yes."] Has not there been blood enough shed? Has there not been property enough destroyed? Have we not all been bound, hand and foot, to the abolition car that is rolling over our necks like the wheels of another Juggernaut? We all love our country. There is nothing would rejoice us more than to see the stars and stripes, the glorious emblem of our Union, re-established all over this country, but it ought to be done by concession and compromise. [Applause. A voice, "That is the doctrine."] It must not be by a further shedding of blood. It cannot be. [A voice, "It will never be done by blood."] We must have peace. Peace is our motive; nothing but peace. If the Southern Confederacy, by any possibility, be subjugated by this abolition Administration, the next thing they would turn their bayonets on the free men of the North and trample you in the dust.

In the face of this record here presented to the consideration of the honest and loyal people of this country, it is demanded, if the proof is not overwhelming, that the Copperheads of the country, speaking through their Chicago Convention and elsewhere, have virtually proposed to surrender the country to the rebels in arms against it, and at the very moment that the rebellion is about to be finally crushed out by our brave soldiers in the field, and the Union restored and the Constitution vindicated.

"Oh! for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the counsels of the brave,
And blasts them in the hour of might."